

[Boys]

LIVELIHOOD IN SILWA

FROM SEVEN TO TWELVE¹

[GIRLS]

857

Before the introduction of compulsory schooling and perennial irrigation, the specific responsibility for this period was irrigation—he still helps with it in the afternoon.

Collects leaves, clover, grass, and weeds for feeding the animals, takes animals to water, as tending animals is his main responsibility, whether at home or in the field.

Fetches drinking water on donkey-back.

Helps in harvesting.

Helps in digging land, breaking up clods with the hoe as an introduction to his use of implements.

Takes out and leads his blind or old father or grandfather.

Takes corn on donkey-back to the mill to be ground.

Tasks of previous period if no younger sibling in the family.

Establishment of tasks of preceding period, and helping mother in food preparation.

Fetches water from the Nile in a larger jar, as towards end of this period she can balance the filled jar on head without support of hands. [312] [482]

Takes midday meal to the field, and brings home dates and vegetables. [231]

Helps mother in attending to poultry and sheep, searches for straying sheep or chicken outside. [231]

Daughters of widowed women, or men who are not actually engaged in farming, gather fuel from along the roads. [868] [312]

Brings home 'clay' from the Nile or the field to help mother in building or repairing the oven, the pigeon-cote the fireplace and the earthen store for seeds.

Carries corn on her head to the mill. [482]

FROM TWELVE TO SIXTEEN

Fertilizer-fetching is the main responsibility. Father is responsible for the work on the land, while son is responsible for carrying fertilizer from the hill.

Rears with special attention animals allocated to him: calf, small camel... as an investment for his marriage-payment.

Makes ropes by twisting fibre of the palm trunk.

'Sea' is one of her main responsibilities, which means water-fetching from Nile mainly at night. 883 [241]

Occasionally takes women's washing as well as her own to be washed in the Nile. [246] [231]

Sieves flour, sews and cooks. [422]

Heats the oven, kneads and bakes. [515]

Hair-deshousing. [283]

Wool spinning and yarning. [285]

Makes plate and dish covers out of palm leaves, and dolls to ornament her future house.

Errand-going decreases to the minimum. [582]

May get married before sixteen. 871

¹ This is the period where compulsory schooling has interfered with the traditional activities of children.

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIZATION IN SILWA

as 'you are the son of people who are like princes', and this type of praise is more common than that related to the good qualities of the child himself. In this way, the identification with, and submergence into, the family is impressed upon the child. It is not surprising that on asking many young children about their names, their immediate answer was 'I am the son of so-and-so'. If the identity of the children is enquired about by the villagers, the question is normally formulated as 'Whose son are you?' It is noticeable that identification there goes with a sense of pride in one's family which causes wrangling and quarrelling amongst children as well as adults. The following conversation is typical of children's altercations in this connection. One child said: 'My father is better than yours; he never worked for someone else, and his turban has always been white. My people (our in Arabic) are all leaders (Arab sheikhs)'. The other boy retorted: 'All your people are liars and deceivers. We offer a larger tray of food for guests and on funeral occasions than yours. Your cow is "rotting" and its bones are sticking out from starvation. What is the use of just talking?'⁸⁶⁷

At an early age the child acquires the sense of property and becomes interested in possessions. Many uncles, or grandparents, for example, give presents to the children. Such a practice also forms the basis of one of the cardinal interests of children in animals. On my entering a house, a child insisted on showing me his goat, which his grandfather had sent him as a gift on the occasion of his circumcision. Sometimes parents may allocate a young calf or sheep to a boy, and in the case of a girl, a mother might keep a certain chicken or duck.⁸⁶⁷ This is regarded as the child's own property, 'ala zimmatuh' or 'ala bakhtu', to be kept 'for his sake and luck', and consequently, at least theoretically, the parents do not dispose of the animal except for his or her benefit, e.g. to clothe him or her, or to buy things for him or her, or in the case of killing the animal or the chicken, the child would get the lion's share of the meat. In practice, however, under the pressure of hardship, the parents would more often sell the animal or give it away for their own account. 422●

It is not difficult to see that the main objective of child training is to cultivate a docile and yielding disposition in the child as the main characteristic of a 'muaddab'. For the attainment of such a goal, the motive of fear is very much worked upon in the training of children by their elders during the period of childhood. Parents usually resort to making the child conform to their wishes by frightening it with an imaginary creature called 'silwa'. There is hardly any young child who does not fear this chimera which is supposed to eat children, especially at night. It is held by children that 'silwa' is a huge, ferocious animal that eats its young after suckling [857] [578]

¹ A. Tannous remarked that in the village community of Lebanon, swearing in mild cases usually refers to strictly personal characteristics, whereas in intense conflicts, more violent terms, usually involving the family, are used. See his article 'Group Behaviour in the Village Community of Lebanon', in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, 1942, pp. 221-39.

² Such a chicken is usually marked by a thread tied round its leg or by cutting one of its claws.

There are today more than fifteen thousand *ezbas*. Their importance and the number of their inhabitants are proportionate to the area of the estate. Some have grown into full-sized villages, but most of them depend, administratively, on the village from which they sprang. 361

Not only the houses on an *ezba*, but all the improvements and machinery, too, whether ancient, like the *sagia* and the *norag*, or modern, like the pumping-engine and the threshing-machine, together with the store-houses and, more often than not, the animals, belong to the owner of the estate. If he cultivates it directly, the fellaheen are day-labourers; if not, they are usually tenants or share-croppers. In either case they are in a sense bound to the soil, and remain so in spite of changes of ownership, unless evicted for some other reason. 361 422 427

It may be that the owner has mortgaged his land. About a million feddans are thus burdened. If he cannot pay the interest, the bank forecloses. In 1935 fifty thousand feddans were thus expropriated because of debt. 427 423 425

It often happens that the holdings of the fellaheen are seized at the same moment. But who is there to discriminate? They may already have paid the Bey or the Pasha their dues, and are in no way responsible for his debts; but that is no concern of the creditors, who needs must foreclose on the mortgage.

One of the large banks had seized an *ezba* belonging to a notable of the region of Shoubra Ris, in the Markaz of Kafr-el-Zayyât. A number of lots on this *ezba* had been let out to villagers, many of whom had been living on them for upwards of twenty years. When the bank's bailiff arrived to carry out the seizure, the villagers resisted him, and the police had to interfere. The assistant chief constable of the *markaz* arrived on the scene at the head of an armed force, but was attacked by the people. Seeing that the situation promised to grow more serious, he felt himself obliged to order shots to be fired in the air to frighten the fellaheen. The effect was to exasperate them. They proceeded to cut the telephone wires and burn the bailiff's car. A new body of police soon came to the rescue, but proved as useless as the first. Finally the Mudeer appeared on the scene at the head of yet a third force and order was re-established only when fur- 427 625 579 423

33.

- x⁵³⁹
805
461
● [422]
[405]
- For the peasant, the possession of a watch is an unheard-of luxury. He can reckon the time of day by the position of the sun, accurately enough for his purposes. There lies (compare also No. 27) in the mention of the watches, a slight reproach: It should never happen to you to run over time. For what purpose do you have watches?

*Ya-lli ma'akum is-sā'āt,
ādī mī'ād 'afa-lla fat!*

Ye, who have watches,
Look, it is already past time for quitting work!

34.

- x⁵³⁹
461
- To appreciate this call, one must have stood, one's self, in the dust of an excavating field.

Ya sīdī, 'afa-lla, nāna! "
we-bīlīna weš-šurī 'ammāna.

O Sir, let the working-time be over, it is enough!
We are "finished" and the work has made us blind.

2. "We are finished": we have come to the end of our strength.